abba -- nickname meaning father, indicating child has been named after a grandparent.
abba gana -- small father; the nickname of many Kanuri boys named after their grandfather.
abba njima -- designation used by unmarried adult males for the head of the household, (a non-kin), in which they reside; it indicates the status of patron in their client-patron relationship.
ajia -- title of district head; appointed by the shehu, he is the senior among the chima gana (junior lords).
alkali -- a district judge.
aman -- the trust that exists between persons who stand in a client-patron relationship.
ashirmanza -- "secrets man", the person in whom one confides and is intimate; often a sibling or cousin of the same sex.
banji -- the belief that a woman can be pregnant for months or even years beyond the nine month gestation period, but that the fetus will just not emerge.
barzum -- an interpersonal relationship established between a senior and junior male, modelled after the father-son relationship, and in which discipline, respect, and reciprocal support are involved.
bullama -- the village head; appointed by the junior lord, he is frequently a patrilineal descendant of the village founder.
chima gana -- junior lord; in nineteenth century Bornu he administered a fief for the big lord, the fief holder, who resided in the capital; was the highest authority residing in the fief.

chima kura -- "the big lord"; holder of a fief in nineteenth century Bornu, he was appointed directly by the monarch, the shehu, and resided in the capital.

chiroma -- the prince who was heir-apparent to the throne in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

drupa -- imported herb believed to induce fertility in women.

dur -- kinship term meaning family; applicable to either father's or mother's side.

galidima -- title of a high ranking nobleman who controlled a set of villages on the western boundary of pre-nineteenth century Bornu; he protected east-west trade and the western approach to the capital city of Galidima.

gworongo -- a plant grown as a special crop and used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic; is also the name of a small hamlet.

jihad -- a holy war.

jili -- "variety" or "kind"; defines one's ethnic background or lineage; a separate fief division encompassing nomadic groups not strictly within a territorial jurisdiction.

kachella -- military rank; powerful leaders of armed regiments with their own followers, in nineteenth century Bornu.

koguna -- the nobility in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

kwando -- a large rope-wrapped package of nuts.

kwororam -- part of bride price; small gifts to prospective bride or her relatives.

lawan -- the head of a village area or a city ward.
luwali -- the male who retains control over the selection of a girl's spouse.
luwaliram -- a bridewealth payment made to the luwali.
magumi sefuwa -- the highest status clan in the Bornu kingdom around 1500 A. D. when the new state of Kanem was established; the highest lineage in the clan held royal power.
mai -- king; the head of the early Bornu state (1500 A. D.)
mai-mai -- complex form of play (no longer prevalent) in which children put on a pageant.
mbarma -- the head of a new hamlet or village sub-section which emerged as a satellite community.
mallams -- a male who is a koranic teacher-priest.
nungu -- "shame-avoidance" relationship; a relationship in which the junior (e.g. a son) behaves in a manner that is formal, reserved, subservient to the senior (e.g. the father)
purdah -- the confinement of wives to within the household.
rashidi -- the ideal traits of a mature adult male.
sada'u -- small fee given to girl's family on morning of wedding day.
shehu -- head of state; the monarch of Bornu.
So -- designation for the pagan group within the state of Kanem around 1450-1550 who were conquered and absorbed by the Magumi, making up part of the ancestry of the present day Kanuri.

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suli -- the pattern of joking approved in certain culturally defined relationships, such as between a grandchild and grandparent.
tada njima -- (son of the house); the client in the client-patron relationship between a single adult male and the head of the household in which he resides.
talba -- title of the chief judge and religious leader who is knowledgeable in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence.
tiful -- the designation for an infant from birth until eighteen months of age.
ujim suri -- the designation for a young female who has been divorced during the first years of her marriage and is beginning to become a woman but is not yet considered to have attained full adulthood.
wakil -- among the followers of the lawan the one who has the highest status.
waladi -- the followers of a lawan; they reside in or near his compound.
waziri -- chief minister; chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council.
zairo -- a young bachelor.
zower -- a divorced woman.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

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Glossary of Kanuri words cited in the text

aba - father

abagana - father's younger brother

abakura - father's older brother

adim (Ar.) - eunuch

ajari - dwelling place of the District Head (Ajia).

Ajia - District Head; Appointed Kanuri official governing a district of Bornu Province.

alewa - candy

algator - traditional Kanuri reed instrument

Alhaji (Ar.) - one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca

Alkali (Ar.) - judge

"Allah Ngubero" (in full: Allah nyiro ngubero gənanzə - "May Allah keep you for a long time!") - traditional deferential phrase said to someone of higher status

alo (Ar.) - wooden writing board on which Koranic verses are written. The term is also used for medicine made of the ink in which Koranic verses were written.

Ardo - Fulani lineage head

ashem (Ar.) - fast

bakama - retail seller of kola nuts

balosma - tradesman who buys goods on credit in one place, sells his goods elsewhere, and then pays back his debt

baru - smallpox

bati - spoiled; deflowered; no longer a virgin

bawa - farher's sister

• 104 bəji - finely woven reed mat for sitting and sleeping purposes

bəlam - porridge made of millet and soured milk

bəri - porridge, usually made of millet flour; the standard Kanuri food

bərzəm - respect

"Bismillahi" (Ar.) - "In the name of Allah"; uttered before any undertaking

boye - jealousy towards a former spouse

Bulama - hamlet head

bur - black wooden bowl from which one eats; made by Shuwa Arabs

chibuna - namesake; the individual for whom a child is named is his chibuna, a reciprocal term

Chima - the feudal fief-holder in pre-British times. The chima lived in the capital.

Chima Gana - representative of the Chima who actually lives on the land and sees to its affairs

chinna - door or gateway to a compound

chir - concubine; female slave taken into the household of her master

dandal - central plaza in a Kanuri town on which the compound of the village or district head faces

dareja (Ar.) - respect (also - bərzəm)

dəla - a final state of divorce where reconciliation is no longer possible

dilel - commission

dilelma - one who arranges a sale and takes a share of the sale price

• 104 Duar (Ar.) - the second prayer time; about 2 PM

dur - family; relatives

dur bube - family through blood; kin related through one's father

dur chambe - family through milk; kin related through one's mother

fatorongabe - levirate

fato - house

fatoma - a tradesman who arranges sales while the prospective seller remains lodged at the house of the fatoma

fale - blossom of the tobacco plant, used by women for staining teeth

fərak - open communal area of the compound

fətkema - seller of traditional sundries in the market-place

fugu - hymen

fugurum - payment at marriage for loss of virginity

gawi - slave without a master

Gonyi - a Malam who has learned the Koran by heart

goro - kola nut

goroma - wholesaler of kola nuts

gursu (Ar.) - Maria Theresa Thaler

haj (Ar.) - pilgrimage to Mecca

haraji - property tax

haram (Ar.) - forbidden by Islamic law

jangəli - tax on cattle

jili - kind, sort; nation, people, or kin group

jinn (Ar.) - spirit

joku - stingy, miserly

104 kabuna - mounted retainer of the Shehu or of an Ajia; "knights"

kafeio - present to a person of higher rank

kagala - title conferred by the Shehu

kalə yaskə - young girl who wears her hair as an adolexcent; a virgin

kalya - a slave

kalyari - a fief which is administered by the slave of a chima

kambe - free-born

kasugu (Ar.) - market

kəji - pleasant, agreeable, sweet

kəmanzə fatobe - owner of the house; master of the household

"kəmanyi" - "My lord", phrase said by a slave to his master

kəntuo - power, influence

kəntuoma - one having power- member of the nobility

kərami - younger brother; younger sister

kərdi - pagan; neither Moslem nor Christian

komadugu - river

kugui - chicken

kulle - keeping wives secluded

kulugu - man's long outer gown

kunjo - gift

kususu - a woman's closest friend

Ladan (Ar.) - muezzin, calls Moslems to prayer

laya (Ar.) - charm or amulet inscribed with verses from the Koran

Liman (Ar.) - Imam, one who leads prayers in the mosque

Liman Nguməribe - prayer leader on religious holidays

Liman Zəmabe - prayer leader at the Friday afternoon communal prayer

• 104 Lowan (Ar.) - village head

luwali (Ar.) - protector; the bride or bridegroom's representative

luwaliram - initial marriage payment

Mai - king in the days when the capital of the empire of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo

Malam (Ar.) - scholar of the Koran

məri - third payment in the bride-price

modulgs - Shehu's council

murshe - a chir (concubine) who has been given her own house

nasara - European; white man

nasha - gift

nəngemtəm - one's lover, paramour

nəngima - one with whom one has a joking relationship

ngalwo - royalty

ngumərі - religious festival

nguro - ward; quarter of a town

nogena - formal respect paid to a superior in status

nungu - shame

nungu ba - shameless, provocative, rude

rawa - mother's brother

riba - profit

ribama - tradesman who buys goods on credit, sells, and then pays his debt (same as balɔsma)

risa (Ar.) - bribe

ro (Ar.) - soul

ro kura - false pride, arrogance

sabər - trade

104 sabərma - tradesman who buys in one place and sells elsewhere at a profit

sadaka (Ar.) - voluntary alms

sadak (Ar.) - The Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife

sallah (Ar.) - ritual prayer

səbdə - Saturday

sədagu - the Kanuri bride-price (see Sadak above), paid in addition to luwaliram

səgdi - coarse grass mat used for fencing a compound

sənasən - pancakes

Shahada (Ar.) - the confession of faith for all Moslems

Shehu (Ar.) - title for the ruler of the empire of Bornu, after the Sef dynasty of Mais was deposed; derived from "Sheikh"

Shehuri - palace of the Shehu

Shetima Kanuribe - title granted to the head of all Kanuri within the empire after the ascent of the Shehus.

sholo (Ar.) - arbitration of disputes

sugurumma - house slave in a position of trust; "keeper of the keys"

susana - a house slave

taborma - seller of imported sundry goods in the market-place

talaka - commoner; poor man

tajimi - prayer beads (Ar. - madua)

tata - son; boy

• 104 tata njima - "son of a household"; fictive kin term used for young men who are part of a large household

tuno - internal pain

Wakil (Ar.) - literally: representative; assistant to the Ajia and head of all his Kabuna

walidi (Ar.) - servant

wujira - commission

wushira (Ar.) - fee paid to the court by the winner of a case

ya chinta - father's wife (in the case of plural wives)

ya kura - mother's elder sister

yaga (or yagana) - elder brother; elder sister

yal - members of a household who are not part of the nuclear family of the household head

yangai - Kanuri trousers

yigana - mother's younger sister

zakat (Ar.) - tithe to support the church

zəgəsə - literally: narrow; the house area of each wife within the larger compound

Zəma - Friday, the Moslem Sabbath

zogor - divorced woman, eligible for remarriage

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organisation is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

• 104 In the typed text, the letter ɔ is the phonetic ɔ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

113 References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute